MR. S. KRISHNA AIYAR : I believe it is the privilege of every member of this House to come and go from this Assembly Chamber without molestation from any member of the public. Ever since the opening of this Session, very many of us have been experiencing difficulty. On Monday a good number of us, when proceeding from the Assembly in the evening, were hooted and jeered by a crowed collected on both sides of the road. There were similar happenings on the succeeding day also.

PRESIDENT : Is the honcurable member making a statement or moving a motion ?

MR. S. KRISHNA AIYAR : I am making a complaint to the House and requesting that redress should be afforded from molestation.

PRESIDENT : The honourable member must frame his complaint in the form of a motion.

Sir, I move that this House afford sufficient protection from molestation by hooligans to members of this House and that this House take such steps as may be deemed necessary for bringing the culprits to book.

Sir, I now proceed to make a statement of my case. I have submitted already that on Monday very many of us were hooted and jeered at when we were passing out of this Assembly Chamber. And it was repeated on every succeeding day. Yesterday the crowed went to the length of throwing stones on every bus that passed along the road between the two junctions in front of the Science College. Many private cars, some of them belonging to respectable members of this House were als molested. Further, a member of my party has complained to me that he was assaulted and roughly handled by the crowds. Many other members of the House have been suffering the same treatment. Personally, I am able to vouch to the fact that I have also been jeered and hooted at. And on trying to understand how all this have come about I am reliably informed that these hooligans have their rendezvous somewhere near the house known by the name of Van Ross house. Yesterday when my car was standing beside my party rooms, that is, the building where we hold our party meetings, a crowd collected round about it with the intention of breaking my car. Some of the members of the crowed asked whose car it was and somebody mentioned the name of the owner. When they were about to make mischief one of the members of the crowd said that the driver of the car was wearing khaddar and so the car should nat be molested. Thus my car escaped. The crowed seems to have certain slogans for shouting. They cheer out "State Congress Ki Jae" "Thanu Pillai ki jai" and "down with K. G. Kunjukrishna Pillai" etc. Without making mention of many other incidents, I may say that these acts of molestation infringe the privileges of the members of this House and as self-respecting members we find it unable to bear with them. I appeal therefore to the House to give us protection from these insults by taking such steps as may be deemed necessary.

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MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI (*Tovala* cum *Agastisvaram*): I have great pleasure in seconding the motion so ably moved by Mr. S. Krishna Aiyar, the leader of our party. He was giving certain experiences of his which he came across and suffered at the hands of the mob collected outside the Assembly Hall and elsewhere, for the last two or three days. Sir, I must frankly at the outset give expression to my feelings that were aroused in my mind yesterday evening at about 6 P. M. when I saw a huge and mischievous crowed. I would easily characterise it as a veritable mob. They were outside the Hall, standing at the junction. After the Assembly got dispersed I went about the Assembly hall premises to find out what the police were doing; because I found something wrong, something mischievous in the behaviour of the crowd. But unfortunately I saw no policeman and I was told that the Commissioner of Police was inside the Assembly Hall without taking any note of the mob outside. My position, if I went out, was found to be very insecure and unsafe. There were frantic demonstrations of the mob outside and there was no police to prevent anything untoward happening. For the time being I felt that there was no protection offered by the police or by any other authority, I thought naturally, that as the Government forces have disappeared, I should have brought with me a couple of thousand men from my place to give combat and thus bring about peace and order.

PRESIDENT: The honourable Member in not in order by referring to possible threats of that kind.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Sir what I am saying is that when there was no protection offered by Government, I thought I should protect myself any way.

PRESIDENT: Order. Order.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI; Sir, I found then that my position as an honourable member of this House was not at all safe and secure, the reason being that I happen to be a member not belonging to the party to which Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai and Mr. T. M. Varughese belong. Otherwise, it is not understandable as to why members of the non-Congress group were pitch-forked for purposes of insult and attack at the hands of the mob that gathered in front of the Assembly Chamber. And I should think and I am justified in thinking that is the main reason why such insolent treatment was meted out by the crowd to most of us who sit on this side of the House, I mean the non-Congress group. Sir, as I came here on the first day, that is on Monday, I was surprised to see Gandhi caps being worn by a section of the members of this House. It was a great surprise to me followed by a feeling of discomfort. What this Gandhi cap means in British India and in my part of the country I know quite well. I am myself an habitual wearer of khaddar even since 1919 and I know and realise the implications of khaddar and Gandhi cap. The white colour of khaddar and Gandhi Cap is captivating. In this connection I may recall the famous speech by Mahatma Gandhi when he alighted at Quilon from the train and addressed a huge audience. In the course of his speech, he said: "After I entered

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Malabar, I fell in love with the women of Malabar and I wish their hearts were as pure as their white sarees." In other words, he was captivated by their pure white colour of the Malabar dress and wished an equally pure heart in the people. That is exactly the feeling that struck me, when on entering this House, I saw Khadi clothes and Gandhi caps. I do not know whether these wearers have sentiments equally pure even as their Khadi and Gandhi caps. I wish they were so.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN (*Ambalapuzha* cum *Shertallai*): A point of order, Sir. May I know Sir, whether remarks on the dress of members of this House are relevant to the motion at hand ?

PRESIDENT: No.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Sir, I referred to all these things to show how unreal is the demonstration in Gandhi caps and khaddar dress, and how the State Congress under cover of this sudden change of dress covers the direct responsibility for the incidents which occured yesterday evening. That is my first charge. And I lay the charge and hold the State Congress members solely responsible for yesterday's incidents of violence and hooliganism and I want this House to come to some definite conclusions. On Monday when the demonstration of khaddar and Gandhi caps for the first time appeared. the situation, though it attracted much crowd happened to be somewhat quiet. It was only a matter of jeering at those without Khadi and cheering those with Khadi, from the crowd. That is jeering at the non-State Congress members and cheering the State Congress Members who wore khaddar. On Tuesday, there was no demonstration, there being no sitting of the Assembly. On the evening of Wednesday, the same demonstration and demonstrators gave a somewhat bitter experience. Most of the members of the non-Congress group in the Assembly were present on being invited at a meeting at 6 30 P. M. held on the terrace of the Bharat Buildings in the Central Station Road. Influential and popular public workers from different communities were also present at the meeting. The meeting was convened to consider the present situation in the country and take steps to guide the movement for responsible Government on proper and peaceful lines. I was one of those present on invitation. While the meeting was going on, on the terrace, a crowd down below on the road attracted our attention. I saw a man wearing Gandhi cap leading the crowd. There were about 200 persons whom he addressed, standing just opposite to the building *i.e.*, the Bharat buildings. The address was in the nature of a harangue. Subsequently he was followed by another young man wearing khadar shirt and no cap. He was so loud in his harangue that he was heard by all even at a distance and his voice reached up to us on the terrace, from down below. I heard him distinctly to refer to Mr. Kottur Kunjukrishna Pillai, M. L. C., as 'rascal Kottur' and Mr. Kunjukrishna Pillai, M. L. A, as 'rascal K. G.' and Mr. S. Krishna Pillai, the Legal Remembrancer as traitor Puthupalli Krishna Pillai'. It was shocking to hear these in respect of respectable people. These were the disparaging

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words that most of us heard. On subsequent enquiry I found out that the man wearing the Gandhi cap and who seemed to be the ring leader was one Sreedharan Nair, a working committee member of the State Congress. The other young man who indulged in such obscene words was known to be the son of one Ammukutty Amma or Parukutty Amma. Perhaps he was better known by the mother. Sir, in short we were not permitted to have a free meeting. But with the mischievous crowd in front of us, we felt some fear. We waited for the mob to disperse. But they stood there for over 2 hours. All the while they were hooting and jeering at us and calling names. As we came out one after another we were hooted and jeered at. My leader Mr. Krishna Aiyar was abused and some filthy words were spoken of him when he boarded his car and sand was thrown into his car. This was day before yesterday. Now about yesterday evening. The situation grew worse yesterday evening. Even at the time when the adjournment motion was being discussed on the floor of this House, the hon'ble members would remember that we heard shouting and hooting from outside. This began even before the Assembly dispersed. As soon as the Assembly was over I thought it would not be safe for me to venture out then having regard to the incidents of the day before. Forestalling this I had advised the lady members not to attend the Session that afternoon. I am glad that they obeyed. Because I was quite sure from the forces working underneath that there was going to be another demonstration repeated that day in a much worse manner. As soon as the Assembly was over apprehending my position would be insecure without Gandhi cap I sought the help of Mr. Jabamony Nadar who was wearing a Gandhi cap and we went out together in my car. Sir, the Gandhi cap has a great significance. I doubt very much if the members of the State Congress party who wear those caps understand the full significance of it.

PRESIDENT: The sartorial tastes of the hon'ble members are not relevant to this motion.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: The relevancy is Sir, in regard to the fact that the Gandhi cap gave me protection to proceed in my car without being hooted and jeered at. The crowd was lined on both sides of the road from the entrance to the Assembly Chamber up to the Central Station. I thought of taking my car just behind Mr. Thanu Pillai's car for fear of molestation from the crowd. His was the first car to leave the Assembly yesterday perhaps to receive all the ovations for himself. This much so far as my experience goes. I understand that my hon'ble friends Mr. Kochukora Tharakan and Mr. Kottalil Abraham had some bitter experiences yesterday from the demonstrators among whom I saw a few with Gandhi caps. On the way home, stones were thrown at their car. I understand that Mr. Tharakan has brought that stone that fell in his car here to show it to the hon'ble members. I saw that stone which he showed me, while at the retiring shed a little before.

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My friend Mr. Kesavan Sastri, being a poor man like myself who could not afford to go in a car, had to go in the town bus. When he was found in the bus and when it was known that he was a member of the United National party, immediately the mob attacked the bus, I mean that particular bus in which he was, and threw stones and sand and broke open even the glass panes. This is number two of the incidents of excesses done by the mob. Then I shall come to number three incident, Sir. After the Assembly dispersed yesterday I directly went to my distinguished friend Mr. E. Subramonia Iyer's office. There I saw a big mob led by a man, holding a long pole with the Indian National Congress flag at the top of it. The man with the flag arrived in front of Mr. E. Subramonia Iyer's office and called out 'shame, down with him' etc. I was an eye witness to this. I shall now refer to another act of hooliganism, a very serious and deplorable one. Two cars belonging to the Royal Stables were held up on the main road and an attack was made by throwing mud. In one of them there was the sister of Her Highness the Maharani, Bhavani Thampuratti.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. I would advise the honourable member not to mention names in this House. The incident referred to is true. The mud was thrown and the case is under investigation.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Yes, Sir. I was only emphasising the implication of the incident.

PRESIDENT: The information of Government is that mud was thrown in both the cars.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Sir, as soon as this car was sighted at a distance somebody shouted out that there was a State car coming. It was after knowing that fact that the distinguished inmates of the car were insulted in the manner I said.

PRESIDENT: Order, order.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Sir, I ask, could hooliganism go further? Then where is the safety for us? Again as I was going to the place of my residence, I saw one to two thousand people, all young men, gathered in front of the Railway Station (Central). Altogether there was a large concourse of people, which I can modestly estimate to be about five thousand including evening stragglers. When I was in front of the Station, I saw the same long pole, with the congress flag tied to it being held aloft by one member of that party. He was naturally attracting a large crowd of people. After some time, I mean about eight o'clock, I again went there to enquire into this matter. I then definitely came to the conclusion that in the mob not only some State Congress members were present but also many hooligans and students. On further enquiry I understood that even sons of the members of the State Congress and clerks of vakils who are members of the State Congress were present among the demonstrating section. These were the people that constituted the excited mob. In the Central Station, it was the arrival time then. Fearing the mob would break into the platform the gates were locked. Passengers had to wait nearly half an hour, for them to get out

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unmolested. I therefore ask, whether all these incidents cannot safely be attributed to the State Congress activities. I warn them of the dire consequences that follow exciting and invoking mob mind, which they are doing deliberately at present. When once mob is excited, there is no knowing what they will not do. I remind them, in this connection, of the famous occasion when Mahathma Gandhi, though not directly responsible for the calamity, condemned the Chauri Chaura tragedy and consequently withdrew his civil disobedience campaign, because he felt he could not control the situation. No wonder. After a time, he had the boldness, as he alone could have to characterise the tragedy of Chauri Chaura as one of his two Himalayan blunders. If this was the way in which his action was characterised by Mahatmaji, how shall we characterise these incidents of the last two or three days and on whom shall we place the responsibility if not on the State Congress for such acts of intimidation and hooliganism. Sir, is it justifiable that having suffered at the hands of the excited mob that we should remain quiet. Unless timely steps are taken, the situation will grow worse, and lead to more disastrous results. No wonder it is felt when no steps are taken to prevent it that mob violence should be met by mob violence. Yesterday and day before yesterday nobody could have escaped noticing the scene that took place in front of the Assembly Hall. Sir a mob if not properly guided and controlled will be up to any mischief. I have myself controlled big if not bigger mobs. More than once, I had the misfortune to break prohibition order issued by this Government against me. Of course then there was a great excitement in my part of the country consequent upon the impending violation of the said order. It attracted a very large gathering estimated to be over 15 to 20 thousand people. By God's grace I was able to control the mob and nothing untoward happened. So also during the days of the Vaikom Sathyagraha, I was given charge of the campaign and I did my services for 7 months. I had to control a very excited mob at Vaikom, numbering over three or four thousand, when that great worker, late Mr. George Joseph was arrested and removed from the field. So also, I am proud to say that I had the good fortune to control mob excitement during the second Suchindram Satyagraha campaign when demonstrative arrests were made. In all these cases, every thing went on quite well; because there was somebody responsible to control the mob. The responsibility to control a mob is terrible. It is playing with fire to set up their feelings or excite them. If once it is excited it would not be possible to control them easily for ordinary men

Sir, here the first disturbance began, as I said, by cheering the State Congress members and jeering at the others who do not belong to that party. The wearing of Gandhi cap by the former, I say, is by way of demonstration and certainly not out of convictions. The Gandhi cap is associated with self abregation and sacrifice in British India. Naturally it has triumphed there. But it is culpable and sinful to instigate such acts of hooliganism under the cover of Gandhi cap and Khadar. If the honourable members of this House have no chance to get thei

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personal safety assured, I must think of resigning from this House and get away. Sir, it is a privilege to speak out our demands on the floor of this House. The honourable members have a right to come here and to give expression to their views. Can anybody outside black-mail him in accepting a particular view. Opposition must be met not by exciting the people but by meeting arguments. So, I emphasise that this kind of jeering will not help the cause of the State Congress. Sir, I ask you as the custodian of the privileges of this House, as President of this Assembly, whether you have not a duty to maintain its privileges and prestige. If you cannot; simply say it out and.....

PRESIDENT: Order, order. The honourable member cannot make any reflection upon the Chair.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Sir, it was only another way of emphasising the seriousness of this act of rowdyism. The members of the State Congress have stated in this House that this is their country; that they alone were patriotic and patriots, and that they must be permitted to work for the interests of the country in their own way. Sir, I appreciate all these feelings. But I ask the House why they should deny these feelings to their opponents and attribute motives to them. If patriotism be their sole monopoly I have equally a right to question it. In that way they are making a fetish of patriotism. It is only the homicidal ravings of fanatics obsessed by self importance. What does Christopher Llyod say in his book on "Democracy and its rivals". On page 21 it is seen like this: "Patriotism, said Dr. Johnson, is the last refuge of a scoundrel. It can also be a fine virtue and an essential one. There is all the difference in the world between a legitimate pride in the achievements of one's country and the homicidal ravings of fanatics obsessed by their own self importance. There are examples of both sorts in every country. The ideal citizen is one who neither smug nor hysterical but who none the less is patriotic. Animals when they dislike each other growl and bite. The members of a community have got beyond this stage." I was referring to this to show that such of those members who were not members of the State Congress were being jeered; for they are deemed to be unpatriotic. They say that they are justified in wearing Gandhi cap, because the National Congress methods are adopted here. But then I ask whether the Indian National Congress has ever dreamt of spoiling and disfiguring their country like this. I shall ask the so called leaders who were responsible for the excitement of the mob to which category they belong, having regard to the truth of the above quotation, whether they belong to the first category or the latter.

PRESIDENT: Order, order. Even by way of quotations honourable member cannot use unparliamentary words.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: Sir, I was only developing the argument

PRESIDENT: The honourable member will withdraw his statement.

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MR. M SIVATHANU PILLAI : Sir, I am only quoting from an authoritative book kept in the Assembly Library. I withdraw the particular word 'scoundrel' alone. But the particular sentiment I don't withdraw. I heard the members of the congress party saying that they are honest. Sir, then who is dishonest ? Is it the inference that other members are not honest ? I expect at least Mr. Thanu Pillai to be equally charitable as to think that there are others who equally are honest. I draw his attention to this particular aspect. If there is a difference of opinion why should he not have a great heart symbolic of Mahatma Gandhi to think that there are others who are equally honest and who have independent views. The situation has gone serious enough, so much so, I ask you where is the safety for us. How could we come here as honourable members of this House and discharge the sacred duties resting with us. This is certainly a breach of the privilege, a gross breach of the privileges of this House. It is high time to protect us from any infringement of the privileges of this House. I ask the official benches also that it is high time that adequate measures are taken to protect ourselves. Of course, the Police Commissioner might have a feeling of diffidence to rise to the occasion, especially coming as it does in the close make of the discussion of the last two days in respect of adjournment motions condemning the Police. I ask you why you do not rise to meet the situation. I ask you whether it is not the sacred duty of the Government to afford us ample protection to go over to this House and discuss problems of public interest in the country. Have we not a right to come here and give free expressions to our views. If that is not possible let the Government say so. If that is not possible let us see what all methods can be taken to establish peace and order to establish safety and tranquility in this State.

Mr. T. T. KESAVAN SASTRI (*Nominated*) : സർ, ഈ ഉപക്ഷേപത്തെ ഞാൻ താഴ്മയിപൂർവ്വം എതിർക്കുന്നു. കഴിഞ്ഞ പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾകൊണ്ട് തന്നെ ഇതിനു സമ്മതമായി തദവസരത്തിൽ വിശേഷിച്ചു നിയമസഭാ വിരോധിക്കുന്നതിന്റെ മുൻവശത്തു് ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള ആരംഭ്രാട്ടങ്ങളും നിരൂപണങ്ങളും ക്രമവിരുദ്ധവും മൈനറന്മാക്ക് മാത്രമല്ല പൊതുവെ ഉപദ്രവകരങ്ങളായി തീർന്നിരിക്കുന്ന വിവരം മനസ്സിലായിട്ടുള്ളതാണല്ലോ. ഞാൻ കുറഞ്ഞ വസ്തുത്തുള്ള ഒരു മണിയോട്ടക്കുടി ടാൻസ്പോർട്ട് വണ്ടിയിൽ പാളയത്തിൽനിന്നും കിഴക്കെ കോട്ടവാതുക്കലേക്കു പോകയാണെന്നിട്ട് ഞാനുപയോഗിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അപ്പോൾ ഈ ജൂബിലി ഹാളിന്റെ മുമ്പിൽനിന്നിരുന്ന വലിയ ജനക്കൂട്ടം വണ്ടിയിൽ കല്ലെറിയുകയും മറ്റും പറയുകയുണ്ടായതു് സത്യമാണ്. ടാൻസ്പോർട്ട്വണ്ടിയിൽ എന്നെ ശ്രദ്ധയുണ്ടായിരുന്നവരിൽ പലരും എനിക്കും പരുക്കുകൾ പറ്റിട്ടുണ്ട്. നിരോധിക്കുക നേരിട്ട ഒരു നിർഭാഗ്യമർദ്ദനമാ

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[Mr. Thariathu Kunjitommman.]

ങ്കിലും ഒരു കക്ഷിക്കു തൃപ്തികരമല്ലാത്ത ഒരു കാര്യം ഞങ്ങൾക്കു പറയേണ്ടിവരുമായിരിക്കും. അതു പറഞ്ഞുകഴിഞ്ഞാൽ ഉടനെ അവഹേളനങ്ങളും ചരമുവാരിയെറിയുക ഒക്കെ ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതു കഷ്ടംതന്നെ. ഞാൻ മുൻപു് ഇവിടത്തെ ചില മാന്യന്മാരെ ദേഹോപദ്രവം ഏൽപ്പിച്ചതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഒരു അടിയന്തിരപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവന്നപ്പോൾ അതിലടങ്ങിയ കാര്യങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി ഗവണ്മെൻറു് വേണ്ടവിധം പ്രവർത്തിക്കണമെന്നു പ്രസ്താവിക്കയുണ്ടായല്ലൊ. അതേ ശ്രദ്ധയോടും ശുഷ്ക്കാന്തിയോടുംകൂടിത്തന്നെ ഇക്കാര്യത്തിലും ഗവണ്മെൻറു ശ്രദ്ധിക്കണമെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നു. ഈ അവഹേളനങ്ങളെ ശരിയായി തടയേണ്ടതുണ്ടു്. മുൻപു കൊണ്ടുവന്ന പ്രമേയത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞിരുന്നതുപോലെ ഈ സംഭവത്തിനും ആരുടേയൊ എല്ലാം പ്രേരണ ഉണ്ടെന്നാണു് തോന്നുന്നതു്. ഈ കാര്യത്തിനും ഇവിടത്തെ പോലീസു വകുപ്പു ഞാൻ മുൻപറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ കേവലം ഉദാസീനമായൊ അപ്രാപ്തമായൊ കാണപ്പെടുന്നു എന്നു പറയാതെ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു ഈമാതിരി സംഭവങ്ങളാണു നടക്കുന്നതെങ്കിൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൻെറ അഭിമാനം ക്രമേണ നശിച്ചുപോകും. മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവണ്മെൻറിൻെറ അന്തസ്സും രാജ്യത്തിൻെറ അഭിമാനവും പരിരക്ഷിക്കണം ജനപ്രതിനിധികൾക്കു് അഭിമാനത്തോടും സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തോടുംകൂടി ഈ ടൗണിൽ സഞ്ചരിക്കുന്നതിനു നിവൃത്തിയില്ലെന്നുവരുന്നതു കഷ്ടംതന്നെ. ഇവിടത്തെ വാദങ്ങളും അവസാനിക്കുന്നതിനുമുൻപു് ഇന്നലെ ഈ ഹാളിനുപുറത്തു് വലിയ ബഹളവും ശബ്ദായമാനമായ ഒരന്തരീക്ഷവും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ആ സ്ഥിതി ഇനിയും തുടർന്നുകൊണ്ടുപോകുവാൻ ഗവണ്മെൻറു് ഒരിക്കലും അനുവദിക്കരുതു്. ഇവിടെ യാതൊരു ബഹളവും ഉണ്ടാകാതെ പരിരക്ഷിക്കേണ്ടതു് ഏറ്റവും അത്യാവശ്യമാകുന്നു. ഏതാനും യുവാക്കന്മാർ റോഡിൻെറ ഇരുവശങ്ങളിലുമായിനിന്നു് വഴിയെ പോകുന്ന യാത്രക്കാരെ അവഹേളിക്കുകയും ക്രുദ്ധരാക്കുകയുംമറ്റും ചെയ്യുന്നു എന്നിവിടെ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ഞാൻ ഒരുവശത്തുകൂടി ഒഴിഞ്ഞുമാറിക്കളഞ്ഞു. അതുകൊണ്ടു് അവരുടെ ആക്ഷേപത്തിൽ അകപ്പെട്ടില്ല. നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതെ വന്നാൽ അവരുടെ ആക്ഷേപം സഹിക്കാം. ഏതു തരത്തിലുള്ള അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളും അവനവനു തോന്നുന്നതായ രൂപത്തിൽ പ്രകാശിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും നിർഭയമായും സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തോടും അഭിമാനത്തോടുകൂടിയും ജീവിക്കുന്നതിനും ഏതു രാഷ്ട്രീയകക്ഷിയിൽപ്പെട്ടയാളിനും ഇവിടെ സ്വ

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ഛന്ദമായി സഞ്ചരിക്കുന്നതിനും ഉള്ള ഒരവസ്ഥ വരുത്തിവയ്ക്കണമെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ പറയുന്നത്. ഇതിനു പോലീസ് യഥാകാലം വേണ്ടതു ചെയ്യണം. ഇക്കാര്യത്തിലിടപെടേണ്ടതു് ഗവണ്മെൻറിന്റെ ചുമതലയാണ്. മറ്റുകാര്യങ്ങളിൽ എന്നപോലെ രാജ്യകാര്യങ്ങളിലും അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസമുണ്ടാകും. അതു സാധാരണമാണ്. ഈ അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി വിമർശിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഒരു കക്ഷിയെ സ്തുതിക്കയും മറ്റൊരു കക്ഷിയെ ആക്ഷേപിക്കയുംചെയ്യും. ഒരു പാർട്ടിയേയും അതിർകടന്ന് സ്തുതിക്കയൊ ആക്ഷേപിക്കയൊ ചെയ്യാത്തവരും പാർട്ടിയിൽപെടാത്തവരുമായ ഞങ്ങളെപ്പോലെയുള്ളവരും ഉണ്ടു. ഇവക്കെല്ലാപേക്ഷും സൈരമായി ജീവിക്കണം. അതുകൊണ്ട് വേഗത്തിൽ അതിനുവേണ്ട ചട്ടംകെട്ടുകൾ ചെയ്യണമെന്നു ഞാൻ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനെ ഉൽബോധിപ്പിക്കുന്നു.

MR. K. P. KOCHUKORATHARAKAN : മെമ്പർ വളരെ പഴക്കമുള്ള ഒരു മെമ്പർ ആണല്ലൊ, ഇതുപോലെയുള്ള ഒരു സംഭവം ഇതിനുമുൻപ് ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടോ?

MR. THARIATHU KUNJITHOMMAN : ഞാൻ ഇരുപത്തെട്ടുകൊല്ലത്തെ പഴക്കമുള്ള ഒരു ജനപ്രതിനിധി ആണ്. എന്നാൽ ഇന്നുവരെ ഇതുപോലെയുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. ഒരു ജനപ്രതിനിധിയെന്ന നിലയിലുള്ള എന്റെ പൊതു ജീവിതത്തിനിടയ്ക്ക് എനിക്ക് എന്റെ സഹപ്രവർത്തകന്മാരിൽ പലരുമായി എതിർടേണ്ടിവന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവരുടെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളെ പലപ്പോഴും എനിക്കു ശക്തമായി വിമർശിക്കേണ്ടിവന്നിട്ടുമുണ്ട്. ചിലപ്പോൾ ഇവിടെയുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടേയും അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടേയും വോട്ടിനെതിരായി ഒറക്കു ഞാൻ കൈപൊക്കിയിട്ടുമുണ്ട്. എന്നിട്ടും ഇതുപോലെയുള്ള ക്രുവലുകളും ബാഹുള്ളങ്ങളും മനം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. എന്നാലിപ്പോൾ വളരെ അനാശാസ്യങ്ങളായ സംഗതികളാണു നടക്കുന്നതു്. ഇതിനെ എത്രയും വേഗത്തിൽ തടയേണ്ടതാണെന്നുള്ളതിനു സംശയമില്ല.

MR. E. SUBRAHMONIA AIYAR (*Nominated*) : Sir, it is with very great pain that I invite the attention of the House to what is taking place around us, very near us. It is a matter for great consolation that nothing is taking place within the premises.

Sir, people might have different views on different matters, and it is such differences that lead to controversies. Two sides there must be; and it is for that purpose that we are here. Here, in this Assembly, of all places every one is at liberty to state his view freely and without

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[Mr. E. Subrahmonia Aiyar.]

any fear. Freedom of speech is not allowed anywhere else so much as is allowed here. Honourable members of this House have got certain privileges, and the most important of them is this freedom to give expression to their views fearlessly. You will not be hauled up before a Court of law or anywhere else for what you say here : only you are subject to the jurisdiction of the Chair. When you use unparliamentary expressions, the Chair will call you to order. Only the Chair has jurisdiction over us while we are here. Therefore, if any attempt is made by coercion it need be actual violence intimidation, if obstacles are thrown in the way of the members of the legislature while they are functioning here, are we the persons to ask for constitutional Reforms Responsible Government? (Hear, Hear).

Sir, I may be a conservative. That is no reason why I should not be protected from such intimidation. If, by my method of persuation, I am able to persuade this House to adopt my view, should I not be allowed to do so?

Sir, ordinarily we hear of the tyranny by the majority. Here, it seems to me just the other way about, tyranny by minority. Non-violence, *Ahimsa*, that creed is certainly a very great creed. Probably, we are being taught that. In fact the majority here now have to practice non-violence and to undergo suffering. I do not want to descend to personal details in this matter for a certain amount of suffering one must be prepared to undergo in the cause of the country. Whether I am in the majority or the minority, if I take a particular course, my view is that, for the advancement of my cause, I must put up with all manner of suffering if need be; it is up to me to think over that aspect of the matter before I take my stand. I may assure the House that, but for the fact that this matter has been raised in this House, I would not have referred to it at all.

Yesterday—I have absolutely no shame in confessing it to you—I make bold to claim that, by my conduct, I have been able to win the love and esteem of many young men who were under my care for a number of years. I am not referring to the period while I was Principal of the Law College. As professor of the Law College I have been dealing with a big crowd of 565 students of mature years I would say. By my dealings with them I claim I have been able to secure their love and esteem. Now, Sir, judging from what happened yesterday I wonder how all that love and esteem I have lost in a single day, unless it be through extraneous causes.

Last evening, as I was going home after the meeting, I had with me in my car my friend Mr. N. Ramakrishna Pillai. I knew that there would be a certain amount of hooting, because in politics especially it is only the extremists that appeal to the masses. Moderate sentiments will never appeal to the masses. I know that there is some amount of distress and unemployment in the country, so that anything said against the Government, any slogan which is in opposition to the Government, naturally appeals to such unemployed masses. I am also prepared to

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realise that it is only those who oppose the Government rightly or wrongly that such masses will consider independent. If you go into that label then you are safe ; otherwise you are not.

I am now coming to the personal incident. Well, we were subjected to a good deal of hooting. I told my friend, Mr. Ramakrishna Pillai, not to be flurried about these matters, and that as citizens in the State of Travancore, certainly if a crisis had arisen we would have to submit ourselves to the sufferings consequent on it. I asked him not to mind the hooting and told him that sometimes they would give applause, sometimes they would hoot and sometimes they would cry shame. Therefore, in a spirit of good humour I just salaamed them. Among them some may have been students but I could recognise none. There were occasions—the students will know—when even as a Government servant I had gone to their rescue. They know it and my erstwhile colleagues on the treasury benches also know it that when it was a question of interfering with the students of the Law College I had put up a stout fight in their behalf That was my attitude while I was in the Law College. I salaamed them, in a way telling them not to take part in these matters. The response was not a severe one. Probably they had still some consideration for me and I received only a shower of sand and not of stones. Probably Mr. Kesavan Sastri came into contact with harder materials. Love and magnanimity certainly are not completely absent in the human mind. Even the younger generation cannot forget that and consequently we were graced with a shower of sand and even that not much. I told Mr. Ramakrishna Pillai that we were lucky. Later in the evening there was a good procession—the House should not take it as a complaint from me and if this matter had not been brought to the notice of the House, my mouth would have been shut. Now that the matter has been brought to the House I shall be failing in my duty to myself, in my duty to the State, in my duty to my brethren and my sisters in the country and in my duty to the rising young generation who should watch and work for the well-being of the State, if I did not refer to this incident. I am not complaining about it. Even if they are going to throw big stones at me I shall take it quite smilingly if it is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the country. Ahimsa I am not preaching, Ahimsa I am not prepared to preach. But Ahimsa I am prepared to practice. They were going in a procession hooting and then they came to my office on the road side. I could have skulked away; I knew that events were happening. But that is not the proper way of dealing with it. They said :—" E. Subramonia Aiyar shame." Very well, in their eyes it may be shameful. These things apart, the situation should not be allowed to develop. In fact in a disorderly mob you cannot expect discrimination, you cannot expect sobriety. Probably the person injured may be E. Subramonia Aiyar or it may be somebody else. Nowadays the activities of the State are manifold. The prime duty of the State—everybody knows it, every lay-man knows it—is to preserve peace and order. That is the police. It does not mean the Police Commissioner

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[Mr. E. Subramonia Aiyar.]

or the Police Force. Preserving peace and order is the prime duty of the State. Unless that is maintained what reconstruction or what advance can be made? No doubt we come here, we speak out our views, we tell the Government the needs of the country. We want reduction of tax. We want irrigation schemes. We want other schemes which will advance the prosperity of the country and increase the national revenue, which will make the conditions of every citizen happy and healthy, which will create a healthy condition for each and everybody to advance and to live happily and comfortably. How can the State undertake all these activities if there is no peace, if there is no calm in the country? Whether it be responsible Government, that is a government responsible to the legislature or whether it is some other form of democratic Government, we are the people to govern. Now, though we do not have a Government responsible to the legislature as we understand it, can anybody dare say that we are being governed not by ourselves. No doubt the views of all may not agree. Probably we have not the right to pass a vote of censure and ask all the Government benches to disappear. The prime requisite however if we want healthy activities is that we should co-operate to produce that calm atmosphere wherein we can fight for a common cause. It will be a great thing if we can make the present Government do the things that we require. But if we are going about, one set of people having one set of views creating disturbance in one quarter and an other set of people having another set of views creating disturbance elsewhere and if everywhere the police and the military must come in and the attention of Government is distracted in restoring peace and order, where is the use in people coming here and asking for responsible Government? Government have got their own defects—every organisation has got its own defects—and it is our duty to point out to them those defects and get them remedied. But how can the Government do all those things if its attention of every moment is distracted by the happenings around us. I have to say that the time is now ripe when we must take some measures. I do not say repressive measures. Far, far from it. Some measures must be taken to see that there is no such recrudescene. Let us not only preach ahimsa and non-violence; let us actually practice it. I am not referring to any individual. In this matter let us join hands with the State Congress let us put our heads together and see that no activities which will create animosities between parties arise not only here but even outside. I shall join hands with them to see that there is no trouble elsewhere. Our views may differ, but what I would suggest is this. The remedy by the Government may be poor, because it will then be said that the Government were taking one side or the other. It is the duty of every member of the House to join hands with every other to see that there is peace and order in the country and thus create an atmosphere for progressive work. One party may pursue one method to gain one end and another party may pursue another method to gain the same end. It is always advantageous to arrive at a mutual agreement. I am glad that certain events have occurred

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In this way our eyes have been opened. Unless every member desires that there should be no trouble anywhere, peace cannot be had. So, I appeal not only to the Government—I am sure the Government will come to our rescue—but I appeal to every member of this House to forget all differences and let the name of the Travancore State and the people in the State rise high in the estimation of the world. Whatever be the differences, whatever be the views that we hold, I will not use any unseemly expression—let us vindicate our culture and our tradition. Are we to give the go-by to it? Are we to allow this state of things to continue. Let every one of us go into their midst and let everyone of us receive a throw of the stone if need be, but let us see that peace is restored.

Sir, I am very glad that an opportunity has been given to me to speak my mind upon this matter which is engaging the attention of every right-minded and sober citizen in the State.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN : *Sir, I support the principle of the motion. I agree that every member of this House should be given absolute protection for coming to this House and for going out of this House and I will not be second to any other member of this House in doing all that is necessary for safeguarding the privileges of this House. I agree with all the sentiments expressed in advancing the argument that at any cost the privileges of the members of this House must be protected. But, Sir, I entertain my honest doubt whether the mover and some other members who supported him are actuated by this noble desire of protecting the privileges of the members of this House alone. I fear that this was made an occasion for casting aspersions on the State Congress Party and the State Congress' activities outside the House. One of the honourable members was very vehement while he wss talking about the freedom of citizenship that every member of this House should have and also the cult of non-violence and *ahimsa* preached by Mahatma Gandhi. I must express my sorrow that some of the gentlemen who had given expression to such noble sentiments had in the same breath cast very unpardonable aspersions on honourable members of this House also. Well, I was expecting, when some of the members held themselves responsible for making serious allegations, that some instances will be quoted. When I put a question as to what the motion before the House regarding the privileges of the members of this House has got to do with the activities of the State Congress Party or the State Congress, the honourable member said that the State Congress Party and the State Congress are directly responsible for them. Certainly when such a very serious allegation is made we must be told what the charges against us are. I was expecting that at least some of the honourable members would say what our mistakes are and what our offences are. Well, Sir, I am at a loss to hear any such allegation. Now, the charges made before this House are; some meeting was held at the Bharat Buildings. But has it anything to do with the State Congress Party or the State Congress?

* Speech not corrected by the member.

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MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: A word of personal explanation, Sir.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: I do not yield my place.

PRESIDENT: You can have your word of personal explanation after the honourable member has finished.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: The only thing connecting that meeting and the State Congress Party or the State Congress was according to the member that some of the persons there wore khadar.

Well, every member of this House may see that some members who do not belong to the State Congress Party also wear Khadar. The honourable member Mr. Sivathanu Pillai was saying that he was wearing khadar from a long time since, that he was an adorer of khadar for the last so many years. The mere fact that a person wears khadar is not an emblem for determining that he belongs to the State Congress party. It is far from it.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: I said about wearing of Gandhi cap.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDAAN: Neither the Gandhi cap is an indication that he belongs to the State Congress party. It does not in any way suggest that he is represented in the State Congress party. It may be seen that an independent member of this House wearing Gandhi cap and khadar at the same time, is not a member of the State Congress party. Nor has he anything to do with the State Congress. Therefore, on the mere pretext that some members of this House assembled at Bharat Buildings happend to wear khadar, an honourable member of this House has chosen to cast such very serious allegations against us. Now, can it be said that the members present there could identify any one of the honourable members of our party?

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: May I ask the member—

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: Sir, I do not yield my place.

It must be taken for granted that every one of us can be easily identified by any member of the United Nationalist party. It is also said that this State Congress, and the activities of the State Congress are responsible for such a state of affairs. It is also said that the responsibility for this state of affairs is on the *members* of this party. Certainly it must be admitted that the honourable member who made the charge before the House, did not see any one of us there or any one of the men who is responsible for the activities in the State Congress.

PRESIDENT: Some names were mentioned by the honourable member. The name of Sreedhar was mentioned.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: Mr. Sreedhar is not a member of the State Congress working committee, nor is he a member of the central committee. I have been associating myself with the activities of the State Congress and I may inform the House that Sreedhar has nothing to do either with the moulding of the policy or the carrying out the programme of the State Congress activities.

Then the other allegation that some of the cars of the honourable members were pelted with stones and sand and the inmates disgraced in abusive language—I am sorry to hear about these incidents. I agree

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with the members who have given expression to those incidents and condemn the action of the mob with great vehemence. I also agree with them that if those allegations are true certainly action should be taken to see that the members of this House are protected. I have nothing more to say at this juncture but to suggest that action should be taken to protect the members of this House from molestation.

I may take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the House one circumstance. Now one fact is apparent here. When our freedom has been infringed at least to an imaginary extent we burst out with all vehemence. Let us take the case of the people at large whose representatives we are. Very serious things have been happening in Travancore for the last several months. Nobody's person and property were secure. That is to say, nobody could attend meetings. There was an occasion in this House for discussing the general panic and horror created in the country.

PRESIDENT : If the honourable member's intention is to canvass the decision passed by this House, he is wholly out of order.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN : No, Sir. I do not want to do so. But I am only referring to it.

PRESIDENT : This honourable House came to the conclusion after listening to arguments on both sides and the decision arrived at cannot be questioned by this House.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN : I am not questioning the decision of the House. But the fact remains. There was an opportunity for discussing the matter on the floor of the House. Now, when the people of this country who were expecting and watching whatever things were taking place in this House, when their liberty was concerned, when their civic rights were concerned, when they have heard and read of whatever things had happened on the floor of this House, let us take them also to be human and.....

PRESIDENT : The honourable member is directly infringing my ruling. In his remarks, the honourable member is imputing to the public that they were fully justified in resenting the decision of this House and giving expression to them, which means that it is a disparagement and a reflection on the vote of this House, which is certainly what is not permissible.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN : Sir, I have not the least intention to speak in disparagement. I quite condemn all acts of violence.

PRESIDENT : That was the decision of the House.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN : That was not my point, Sir. It must be conceded on all hands that the public were anxiously watching the proceedings of this House. Now, they may be right or they may be wrong. I am not defending their attitude ; I am not defending their acts of violence. But, at least wrongly, let them take it, that the expressions given by some of the members of this House were not calculated to protect their interests – Then Sir, can we say.....

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MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: There is no harm in the member putting like that.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: No Sir, I must make my position very clear. I said at the very outset of my speech that I am not defending these acts of violence.

MR. M SIVATHANU PILLAI: On a point of order. Is it in order for another honourable member who is near him to give instructions.

PRESIDENT: Yes, provided he does not interrupt the honourable member in giving those instructions. The honourable member knows that in Courts and Legislatures, anybody can speak according to brief.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: I was at the question of the feeling in the country, about the insecurity of person and property, and the proceedings that were going on the floor of the House touched on these matters. Now, I am asking in all seriousness, rightly or wrongly, when the people feel that their rights are not adequately safeguarded, that their representatives are not allowed to voice forth their aspirations and desires, their views may be wrong but when they feel it, I ask in all seriousness have they not the right to demonstrate their feelings?

PRESIDENT: Do I understand the honourable member to be one in the party that is engaged in those demonstrations of pelting stones and sand and all those disgraceful acts?

MR. V K. VELAYUDHAN: Certainly not.

SIR. KAINIKARA M. PADMANABHA PILLAI (*Changanacherry* cum *Peermade*): May I ask the member whether he is one .....

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: I have not finished my sentence, Sir. But if the people demonstrate their feelings, so far as they did not infringe the law, so long as they did not do any acts of violence or offence, then what is wrong in demonstrating their feelings? At the very outset I said, that, I am not at all for encouraging any acts of violence, whether it be from a member attached to the State Congress or from any portion of the public. That is quite a different matter.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: I want to put a very relevant question, Sir.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: I do not yield, Sir.

PRESIDENT: The honourable member would please note down all his points and as soon as the member has finished his speech, they may be put and the member can answer them if he is so inclined.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: I was making my position clearer. I will not support any acts of violence on the part of anybody. That is why at the very beginning of my speech I said that I am in agreement with the principle of the motion and that I wholeheartedly support it. I appeal to every member of this House to support the motion. Every member of this House is eligible to get protection, is competent to get protection, for coming in and going out of the House. Nobody should be molested and if any such thing happens, Government should take every measure to *effectively* safeguard the privileges of every member of this House.

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I was at the question of saying how all these things could be attributed to the existence of the State Congress party. It has been said that Gandhi cap is an emblem of non-violence. At the same time, we have been accused in the motion that the members of the State Congress party were responsible for these acts. When a member makes that allegation, he must say how we were responsible? Did any of the honourable members of this House see us in such act? Without saying how we were responsible, there is no use in accusing us. Have any members of the opposite side any reason to believe that any member on this side is responsible for these acts? When we are told that we are responsible, we must be told *how* we are responsible? What is it that we have done? Have we passed any resolution to that effect? Have we directed anybody from amongst us to do in that manner? Have our activities anything to do with these things? I wonder how our party name comes in here. Therefore, some of the incidents that have been narrated before the House are not at all connected with the State Congress party nor with the activities of the State Congress party on the floor of this House. Even if they are--I should not say so—even though I do not believe that all these allegations are true, I do not know.....

PRESIDENT : It is not at all open to the honourable member to say that other members were telling lies.

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: I do not say so. I have no personal knowledge in many of the incidents. I must concede that there was a huge crowd. Some members of the House were cheered and it is also reported that, when I went, I was cheered. It is also reported, I must confess, that some others were also hooted. That is a very sad state of thing and such ill happening should be prevented. But at the same time, it must be remembered, what was the motive that actuated such a state of affairs.

If there is a general panic in the country, the people are expecting their representatives to voice forth their genuine feelings, and when the public read the proceedings of this House, and find them in the wrong, have not the people the right to demonstrate their feelings? My submission is, it must be conceded, that every member of the public has as much right as the members of this House, as the representatives of this august House. Therefore, I would place for the very serious consideration of this House to ponder over what is really behind these sad incidents and it would be well if every member of this House as well as the Government seriously think about that and find some solution for it. I have done.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: May I know whether one Ponnara Sridhar is at least a member of the State Congress organisation?

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN : I am not aware.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI : May I know whether one Kunjuraman Nair is a member of the State Congress organisation?

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: I do not know.

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MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: May I know whether the member denies about the serious allegations made on the floor of this House this morning relating to the hubbub of yesterday?

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: I emphatically deny that the State Congress has anything to do with it.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: May I ask the member.....

PRESIDENT: Just as I prevented the honourable member from disputing the veracity of other honourable member's statements, so shall I prevent Mr. Sivathanu Pillai from making any suggestion that is likely to dispute or deny the veracity of statements made on the floor of the House by responsible members of this House.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: I would like to know whether the Van Ross buildings is not where the State Congress members meet?

PRESIDENT: There are certain matters which may be left for inference, others which may be found out by investigation by the honourable member himself. The right of interrogation of an honourable member by another member to arrive at certain conclusions is very little. The right of Government is less limited than the honourable member. The honourable member cannot get all the information he wants by putting such questions.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: May I know whether any member of the State Congress party made any honest attempt to see that the non-Congress Members were not hooted?

MR. V. K. VELAYUDHAN: Certainly, they did. I shall explain how it was done. Some of the students went to the Van Ross bungalow. I do not know any one of them personally. Messrs. K. R. Narayanan, Thanu Pillai and Varughese told them that their present duty was to attend to their studies and not to enter into politics but at the same time to have the cause of the country at their heart. They told them that when they got out of the colleges and entered the duties of citizenship they should consider seriously about these things and that above all there should be no violence or disturbance to anybody however much they differed from the opinion of the public.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI: May I know whether such advice was tendered before or after the fire.

PRESIDENT: There was no fire.

MR. K. T. THOMAS: I have great pleasure to support the principle of the motion tabled by the honourable member Mr. S. Krishna Aiyar. I do not believe that there will be any difference of opinion so far as the safeguarding of the privileges of the honourable members of this House is concerned. I am at one with the mover in that ample provision should be made for the protection of every right of the honourable members of the House.

PRESIDENT: It is now 12·34. I have given a certain amount of latitude for speeches. As there are a number of other honourable members who have indicated their desire to participate in the discussion I shall give 5 minutes to each speakr.

MR. K. T. THOMAS: From now onwards or after my speech?

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PRESIDENT: I will allow you seven minutes.

MR. K. T. THOMAS: But for the arguments advanced, inferences attempted to be drawn, aspersions cast in such an uncharitable way against the organisation I have the proud privilege to represent in this House.....

PRESIDENT: The honourable member represents his constituency.

MR. K. T. THOMAS: I would not have a word to say on this motion except to support it with my whole heart. It is certainly right that every member should have absolute freedom and ought to have the right to express whatever he knows and feels in this House and outside. I do maintain that he should have the absolute liberty to express his opinion provided it does not infringe the law. Therefore I am entirely at one with the other members that the privileges of the members of this House should be maintained, and maintained at any cost. But the unfortunate situation in which I find myself is that there has been an attempt to make an impeachment as it were, of the State Congress party in this House. There are 17 or 18 of those who belong to that party. A good deal has been said about their dress, their colour, their cap, their non-violence and all the rest of it. But for this accusation, which I dare say was not in good taste certainly, I would not have a word to say on the motion before the House. I emphatically repudiate every accusation, every insinuation and every inference that has been attempted to be drawn on the floor of this House, against the members of the State Congress Party. Knowing as I do—and I have a right—I am in a position to tell the honourable member who asked the honourable member who spoke just before me certain questions whether one Mr. Sreedharan Nair was in that crowd, that after all it is not possible for any one to pick out and say how many Sreedharan Nairs were on the road when there were thousands of people or how many Sreedharan Nairs are on the rolls of the Congress particularly because the membership has swelled to thousands. It is not possible to identify a person by his mother's name Ammukutty Amma or Parukutty Amma and say whether he is on the rolls. If the State Congress members had been a few and provided the honourable member was able to describe the Sreedharan Nair or Kunjuraman Nair in such a manner as to make me identify and recollect the person; then I shall be in a position to answer him. The honourable member Mr. Sivathanu Pillai has been most emphatic in the accusation of the State Congress when he said that from certain other activities he placed before the House the inference is irresistible that all these demonstrations have been at the instance of the State Congress party. He said that he had gone to the Railway Station and there he came across a man leading a crowd bearing Gandhi cap and clad in khadar and carrying on the top of a pole a tri-colour flag. May I ask whether any member of this House has said that the State Congress has got a banner? It has not as yet adopted the tri-colour flag as its emblem. It is very well known not only in India but throughout the world that such a flag is the emblem of the Indian National Congress. If the honourable member has come across a tri-colour flag borne by a man with the Gandhi cap and khadar dress, the

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[Mr. K. T. Thomas.]

inference can only be that it is some person leading a demonstration on behalf of, in support of, or in sympathy with the Indian National Congress. I cannot possibly imagine by what stretch of imagination it can be imputed to the State Congress. An attempt was made to show that the party hooted some and jeered others. It was again said that there were vakil clerks in that party. To be vakils or advocates is not the sole privilege of the State Congress party. There are advocates in every section of this House and the honourable member who made the accusation was content to make the vague allegation that there were certain vakil clerks in the crowd. It may have been vakil clerks belonging to members on the other side of the House. It might have been that they were vakil clerks of some of the advocates who are not members of this honourable House. On such vague and indefinite facts, to jump to a conclusion and characterise it to be the irresistible conclusion, as he would put it, that the State Congress party which consists of 18 honourable members of this House is behind all this demonstration is, I may say, to prostitute the method of drawing inferences from a given set of facts. I do not propose to answer in any manner the aspersions cast on the dress which I have the privilege to wear. I shall only say that without a sense of proportion to the matter in discussion all these irrelevent matter has been drawn in.

Just another word regarding a certain suggestion made by the mover of the motion that these hooligans are found somewhere in the vicinity of the Van Ross bungalow.

MR S. KRISHNA AIYAR: I said that it is the rendezvous.

MR. K. T. THOMAS: Yes. I can easily read between the lines and guess the insinuation. About Makaram last, editor Mr. Mathew Muthalali was assaulted exactly near the Van Ross bungalow. Complaints have already been made to the local Police of another assault on one of the members of the Secretariat very near that place. This incident only adds to the number of individual assaults in this capital city. But for the suggestion that there is a rendezvous somewhere very near the Van Ross bungalow I would not have said this. After all, these assaults occur in the jurisdiction of one particular Police Inspector. Beyond that no inference of any manner can possibly be drawn from the fact that the member has got the information from some quarter which I am not going to dispute that the rendezvous of hooligans is somewhere there. The fact remains that in the capital of the State there is hooliganism of which complaints have been heard in this House from Monday onwards. This Hall has been resounding with the echoes of police engineered hooliganism and rowdyism particularly in the capital. I ask whether the police are so helpless as not to afford protection to every member of this House, and I would even say to every member who visits or inhabits the capital. The question therefore the House has naturally to consider is whether there is any insecurity of person and property in this capital city as has been evidenced by the statement made in this House which I take it at its full value.

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PRESIDENT : The motion before the House is that sufficient protection from molestation be afforded to the members of this House. The other matter has already engaged the attention of the House and cannot be discussed again.

MR. K. T. THOMAS : I do not propose to revive discussion on a matter which has already been the subject of discussion in this House. I was only stating that all this demonstrates want of security in this State for citizens, want of security to the members of this House and want of security to everybody else. Circumstances have come to such a stage when it is possible for us, I belive, unanimously to say that there is not that amount of security that a person ought legitimately to expect.

PRESIDENT : The honourable member is not in order.

MR. K. T. THOMAS : Therefore, I am only anxious to make myself clearly understood that while I should be very happy to support the principle of the motion. I emphatically repudiate every word that has been said against the party to which I have the proud privilege to belong. There would be no difference of opinion from any quarter as to the need for maintenance of the privileges of this House.

MR. M. SIVATHANU PILLAI : I would like to know why the State Congress members had suddenly pitched upon the idea of wearing Gandhi caps ?

PRESIDENT : Order, order.

MR. E. P. VARGHESE (*Ambalapuzha* cum *Shertala*) : Sir, I regret very much to see that there has been an occasion to bring forward a motion like this in this House. Sir, the privileges of this House are in the keeping of the members. It is up to every member to see that those privileges are kept in tact and are never tampered with. Sir, we have experience ever since the beginning of this Session a certain amount of jeering and cheering when we come and when we go out especially in the evenings when we return to our residences. Sir, on the first two days I managed to escape by the eastern gate, driving northwards and turning at the church junction to the east and taking a circuitous route instead of going to the south. But the young men who form the crowd were not inclined to leave me there. On the day when there was the walk-out in the State Congress party a number of young men were proceeding along the road to the Van Ross bungalow shouting in a sing-song tone "State Congress ki-jai." As my office happens to be situated on the road leading to the Van Ross building they had to pass along it, and when they saw my board they stopped their slogan and shouted something, rather hooted facing my house. I was not present in my house. I would have had no complaint if they shouted anything to my face, or seeing me there. But to shout at my office in my absence is not courteous. There may be many there and what will they think of me. I have sufficient sense of humour to stand all these hootings and jeerings at me. Of course an excited mob is not expected to be courteous or resonable. I only

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[Mr. E. P. Varghese.]

told some of my friends about my experience. This crowd passed on to the Van Ross building and I could hear their cheering from my office. I may take it as true that my friend Mr. Velayudhan and some other members of the State Congress advised the young men who formed this crowd not to create disturbances and to mind their studies. From this, I understand that most of them must have been students. Sir, let me ask the members of the State Congress what was the effect of their advice? Evidently this crowd was composed of sympathisers of the State Congress Sir, we saw the effect of that advice yesterday. It only increased the hooligan activities of the crowd and they were mostly directed against those members of this House who stand out of the State Congress party. My friend Mr. Mackar Pillai and I wanted to know exactly what was going on. So we drove along the main road yesterday and on both sides the crowd was standing in line. The crowd almost pressed round our car and hooted but fortunately we were not pelted. But I was shown the stone which was thrown in the car of my honourable friend Mr. Kochukoratharakan and Mr. Kottalil P. Abraham. Well, Sir, I would advice the Chief Engineer to remove the abundant supply of road metal heaped near my office or to spread it out on the road soon so that these may not be available to the crowd.

I would not have complained but for the fact that they are taking to pelting the State Congress may not be directly responsible for these disturbances. But in any way they are responsible for the spirit which they have created among these young men. If the State Congress boasts that they have huge popular support behind their movement they must control these crowds or else Government will have to take strong measures to ensure public peace and safety. Then people will say, or rather the State Congress will say that there is repression. I do not like to see political sensations in this town. I do not want the Government to resort to repressive measures. But since a motion has been brought forward for the consideration of this honourable House I felt it my duty to place my experiences which are relevant to the motion for the information of the honourable members. Well, friends, we may differ in our political views. But that is no reason why we should be hooted. You cry for freedom of speech and you do not allow honourable members of this House to express their views freely and fearlessly even here. For my part I can put up with any amount of hooting and jeering from my opponents. But do not touch my body. All these days and all these months I have been moving and mingling with many of the members of the State Congress in the Bar room and in other social gatherings; I have talked with them and I have stood their severe criticisms. I have been called by even the Non-Congress men traitor, turn coat, judas, etc., and I have taken all that in a sportsman spirit. I would not have entered public life if I had not the sense of humour to stand all these. But we must move freely along the public road without being molested for holding certain political views.

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Sir, I have placed all my cards on the table as far as my political views are concerned. Whether it is the National Congress or whether it is the State Congress that is to win the day, I am not going to surrender any of the safeguards or privileges which I have secured. I am not going to be satisfied with the present distribution and reservations so far as the Public Service and the Legislature are concerned. I am prepared to defend and fight for my interests because I am so convinced of the justice of my claims. So let us tolerate differences of opinion among us. Otherwise what is the meaning of democracy? How are you going to succeed in Responsible Government if you cannot tolerate criticism? Well, Sir, one honourable member was saying that we were jeered at because we were saying things in this House which were not agreeable to them. On many an occasion we have expressed views which are not at all agreeable to the public. Then we were not treated like this. Yesterday, if the report is true it was an indiscriminate pelting of stones. I can understand the hooting and jeering at members, but what have the poor passengers in town bus to do with these expressions of views? And it is reported that a glass pane of one of the buses was broken.

Whatever it be, I appeal to every honourable member of the House to see that the dignity and prestige of every member is protected and the privilege of this House is kept unsullied and preserved to the very letter. For this, I would prefer not to call for Government help; but if we cannot but do so, Government should take adequate steps to maintain law and order and to preserve our rights and privileges. And in all steps that the Government may take in this direction, we on this side of the House will certainly stand by them. With these remarks, I support the motion.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO (*Ag. Commissioner of Police*): Sir, I take it that I have been called upon to talk on this subject, as I have been fortunately or unfortunately put in charge of the Police Department.

PRESIDENT: The honourable member will raise his voice still further.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO Sir, I was saying that I have been called upon to talk on this subject as I have been fortunately or unfortunately been now put in charge of the Police Department. When the Assembly Session commenced, there was some disturbance outside the Assembly Chamber. On the first day there was a little hooting but on the subsequent day it grew more and yesterday it went very far. It is true, Sir, that stones were also pelted on some of the cars that went out of this Chamber after the meeting was over. There was some throwing of stones on one of the transport buses and I have received a letter from the Superintendent of the State Transport which reads as follows: "I am sure you might be aware that there was an unusually large crowd on the road between the Statue Junction and the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall between 4-30 and 6 P. M. yesterday so much so that our Town Service Buses could be taken over the road only with the greatest difficulty imaginable. I would say some from the crowd

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[Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao]

had even the audacity to pelt stones on the buses causing serious damage to front glasses of the buses. If the road is not made safe for traffic this evening (15-7-1938) it may not be possible to have the usual Town Service according to the scheduled time. May I hope that there would be no similar trouble this evening?" We have heard also several members of this House complaining that there was much throwing of stones at their cars and also that they were hooted and jeered at. I have been making enquiries about these incidents and from the reports received from the department and from the enquiries made by me, the following conclusions have been arrived at :

It is true, Sir, that there is a rowdy element among the crowds which collect at the front gate of the Assembly Hall. It consists of all sorts of people, students, graduates, non-graduates and many others. Enquiries go to show the following facts. The State Congress party as soon as it was formed collected subscriptions and enlisted memberships from among the people in Trivandrum. If anybody is to give $3\frac{1}{2}$ chs or 7 chs, he becomes a member of the State Congress. But these people do not seem to know the implications or the objects for which the State Congress is formed. And so people of all sorts, educated and uneducated gather.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI (*Trivandrum Town*) : Gather where?

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO : Gather in front of the Town Hall. The departmental report goes to show that the State Congress party has something to do with this state of affairs. These people often go and visit the leaders of the Congress party at the Van Ross building. Yesterday evening these people went to the Central Station maidan and from there to the Van Ross building. I am not concerned with what passed between these people and the State Congress men. But there is some connection between the two. I do not say that the Congress party is responsible for the incidents ; and I do not say that the so-called mob consistes only of State Congress members. In any case, I must say that the State Congress has something to do with the crowds collected.

I have been watching these affairs with very great anxiety.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI : One question. May I know.....

PRESIDENT : Order, order. Mr. Ramachandra Rao will resume his seat.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI : I wish to know whether the member can tell the House in what manner the Congress has something to do with these incidents?

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO : I have to inform the House that the reports which I have got are confidential. But these are the conclusions arrived at and which I place before you.

PRESIDENT : Order, order. Is it the sense of the House that I sit for about 15 minutes more and finish this matter instead of adjourning now.

MR. T. P. VELAYUDHAN PILLAI : Yes, Sir. We shall sit for a few minutes more.

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MR. A. THANU PILLAI: Sir, I think we shall adjourn now and take up the matter when we meet again.

The question whether the House should sit for another 15 minutes was put to vote and carried.

PRESIDENT: Mr. Ramachandra Rao will continue.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: Now, Sir, there is one thing which has been troubling me and that is they attribute weakness on the part of the police because the police are not maintaining peace and order. The policeman is no coward, I have been watching the situation. It is not very difficult to use force, but it is very difficult to restrain it. There is a carbuncle and the doctor is watching it. In proper time the knife will be put in deeply, deftly and to the full advantage of the patient.

MR. A THANU PILLAI: Sir, may I request the honourable member to speak loud enough. I do not hear him clearly.

PRESIDENT: The honourable Police Commissioner will kindly repeat his remarks in louder tone.

MR. M. RAMACHANDRA RAO: I was saying, Sir, that the doctor is watching the patient and that in proper time the knife will be put in deeply, deftly and to the full advantage of the patient.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: I feel constrained, Sir, to say a few words on this motion especially after I have heard the Police Commissioner. He has come to certain conclusions as a result of the enquiries made by him in this matter. He says, of course he has been doing it in the two former occasions, that these incidents have their foundation in the State Congress and attributes them to the discredit of the State Congress. I do not understand the relevancy of his statement that members are enlisted to the State Congress on a payment of $3\frac{1}{2}$ chackrams or seven chackrams. I ask, what is the relation of that statement or that fact, even if it is a fact, to facts of the matter in discussion. He says that the people do not understand what the State Congress is and they pay because respectable gentlemen go in. I tell for the information of this House that I have enlisted a very large number of members to the State Congress. I find that most of them understood for what the State Congress stands for. Whenever they did not understand I told them all about it. Now for the Police Commissioner to say that people without understanding any of these, join the Congress is a libel on the State Congress. I wonder what foundation he has for the statement. The other day he made a statement that we were enlisting sweepers, I at that time forgot that he was for some time the Municipal President and could not forget the sweepers. It is true that we are enlisting sweepers. In fact, we want to enlist all people from the last grade of society, if that expression can be used which I am personally against, to the landlords in the State. The Police Commissioner must be aware of the fact that the contents in the State coffers come from the sweepers as well as the landlords of the State. Now, he has come to the conclusion that the Congress has something to do with all these demonstrations. As a member of the State Congress party, as the President of the State Congress, I wish to know what that something is. I

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[Mr. A. Thanu Pillai.]

ask him what relation there is between the State Congress and its activities and the facts under discussion. In answer, he says that the reports are confidential. I may at once say that he ought not to place any reliance on these reports. I emphatically repudiate the statement that the Congress has anything to do with any excess that may be seen.

One or two more facts I may place before the House. It appears there were crowds during the last few days about the hall. We do not know who were there. It appears that students, vakils' clerks lawyers, in short, all maner of people collected. I cannot say for certain whether any person committed any mischief or is guilty of any excesses of any kind or hooliganism of any kind. We can't say who these members are. I can't say who set up them. I may also state that there has been an attempt to cry down the State Congress. That has been going on. I don't object to any party being formed. I understand that a party is being formed—a political organisation in the meetings and deliberations of which, I have heard, the Director of Information takes part.

PREDIDENT: Is the honourable member sure of this fact?

MR. S KRISHNA AIYAR: I emphatically deny it.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: You may deny it, Sir. We for a moment would not be a party to any kind of hooliganism or anything of the kind. Let us not mix up things. Now the facts are; there has been discussion on the floor of this House on very important subjects affecting the State. Naturally people assembed. It is not uncommon that large crowd assemble on such occasions. And there might be domonstrations of juvenile enthusiasm. There might be some excesses. But let us not magnify these things. We must reconcile with facts. Let us not exaggerate things. But that does not mean that I justify their action. The Police Commissioner has been telling us that the crowd went to the Congress house. Yes, the crowd came to the Congress head quarters. I addressed them. I told them not to indulge in any kind of excesses. I told them that they should not keep out like this after six. I told them "this is not the way in which you should spend your time. You should not indulge in active politics of any kind. You might go wrong or might not. There might be allegations againt you. Tomorrow I don't expect any of you to collect near the Town Hall." Sir, I fully see that the State Congress has come remote connection in this way. The State Congress has been responsible for certain activities for the benefit of the State. Now people take part in these activities. The consideration of those matters might have led to certain crowds coming up. Apart from that I do not see any connection between the State Congress and these crowds and these incidents. I may assure this House, as the President of the Congress, it will be my earnest duty and function as also the earnest duty of my friends to see as far as possible that no kind of violence is given, that no excesses are committed by students or others. We would certainly be doing our utmost and making a move in the matter. That does not mean that the responsibity is ours. I must certainly condemn the words which

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go to show that we are at the bottom of these things, as we do not for a moment think that violence can lead to a good result. We will not lead young men and old to woe. Now, Sir, it was mentioned here that we must also co-operate to put down any kind of violence. I perfectly agree. I can understand Mr. Subramonia Aiyar's statement to that effect, but when he says that the State Congress is at the bottom of this, of course, I wonder how an experinced gentlemen of his kind who was for some time the head of an educational institution.....

MR. E. SUBRAMONIA AIYAR: For the honourable member's information I say that I don't make any insinuation whatsoever.

MR. A. THANU PILLAI: I am very glad to hear of that. The youthful enthusiasm of the students and other people assembled might have exceeded some limits, but let us refrain from exaggeration. In spite of that I certainly condemn any kind of misguided action on the part of any one in the crowd yesterday or day before yesterday. But I must certainly stand against the attitude of certain members who say that the State Congress is at the bottom of all these. Mr. Krishna Aiyar has stated by way of insinuation that there is a rendezvous for these people in the Van Ross bungalow of the State Congress. Is it that the State Congress are harbouring hooligans within their headquarters? Is it the suggestion from the leader of the opposite party? I can say that it is not the rendezvous of the State Congress. Even if there is a rendezvous like that it is for the police to see to it. As I submitted on a former occasion there is a lot of rowdyism and hooliganism in the town and I attribute that fact to the Police—to their activities or inactivity. So, certainly the Police has to be condemned. But at the same time this crowd ought to be looked into. There is absolutely no justification to connect the State Congress with these happenings if they are true. While agreeing to the principle that, every member of this House has a right to be protected in every manner possible so far as the discharging of his duties as a member of this House is concerned, I must certainly say that all the allegations made against the State Congress are absolutely unfounded and those who brought these against is stand condemned.

PRESIDENT: This matter has been sufficiently and adequately discussed. I purposely allowed the fullest possible discussion having regard to the importance of the matter.

As I stated at the commencement of this proceedings, it is clear parliamentary law and procedure that it is an infringement of the privilege of a legislative body that there should be any attempt to assault, insult or molest any member of that body in his coming to or going from the House, or in respect of his behaviour conduct or voting in the House. Now, from that point of view, the discussion has been very full and very elucidatory.

The motion before the House, by Mr. S. Krishna Aiyar, is as follows:—

> **" This House shall afford sufficient protection from molestation to members of this House. and take such steps as may be necessary for bringing the culprits to book.'**

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[President]

Before putting the motion to vote, I need only say that I regard this motion as an exhortation to the Chair to use every means to prevent the likelihood of the recurrence of such events as have disfigured this city during the last two or three days. As I happened to do my office work on the premises during the evening, it was given to me to listen to the various warcries that were uttered by the mob, and also to see somewhat of the behaviour of the crowd. Enquiries have been made as to the persons who were leading the crowd and the persons who were inciting the mob. Those names and the facts will be sifted with the care which the circumstances deserve. All that can be said at the moment is that no effort will be spared to bring the culprits to book, in the terms of the motion before the House.

The motion was put to vote and carried *nem con.*

The Assembly adjourned for lunch at 1-18 p. m., and reassembled at 2-15 p. m.

LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS—(*contd.*)

THE TRAVANCORE COMPANIES BILL.—(*contd.*)

Clause 347

MR. JOSEPH VITHAYATHIL (*Kunnatnad* cum *Parur*): Sir, I beg to move the following amendment:—

Add the following Proviso to sub-clause (1)

"Provided that the provisions of this sub-section shall not apply to a banking company incorporated before the commencement of this Regulation till after the expiry of two years from the commencement of this Regulation."

The object of the amendment is to provide for reasonable time being given to the existing banking companies to comply with the requirement of the section, namely, that a minimum cash balance must be maintained always and that the banking concern should submit monthly statements of such cash balance.

Sir, under clause 346 which provides for a reserve fund being maintained, provision is made for giving the present concerns two years time for the building up of such reserve funds. I do not see why such a provision should not be made in regard to clause 347. Unless this amendment is accepted, on the date on which this Bill becomes law all the present banking concerns in the State will have to maintain the minimum cash balance prescribed by this section. I do not think that many of them will be in a position to do it unless they are allowed some time. Now-a-days, it is very difficult to attract fresh deposits; in fact, depositors are fast withdrawing their deposits from most of these banks. Further, as a result of the working of the Debt Relief Regulation, banks can realise their dues only in instalments. Therefore, it is only reasonable that some time is allowed to these banks to satisfy the requirements of this clause. I may say that I am not very keen about two years' time being allowed; but certainly, they should be allowed some reasonable time.

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